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ABSTRACT

This study examines quantitatively the systems of tense, mood, and aspect in Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in the United States. In the community under investigation, code-switching is an integral part of the communicative repertoire; also, the codes tend to be switched at points around which the surface structures of Spanish and English map onto each other. It is hypothesized, therefore, that Puerto Rican Spanish verb usage is being reinterpreted on the model of English. Standard Spanish and English verbal systems are compared, with particular attention to those areas where the two systems differ. The informants were 12 long-term residents of El Barrio in East Harlem, New York. Six were Spanish-dominant and six, English-dominant. Comparative data were also collected from "prestige" Spanish speakers, as well as from 15th century Spanish, modern Andalusian Spanish, and English. Systematic quantitative analysis revealed that: (1) an overwhelming stability exists in the systems of tense, mood, and aspect in Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in the United States; and (2) the relative importance of the various verb forms has remained basically unchanged in Spanish since the 15th century. (AMH)

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NO CASE FOR CONVERGENCE: THE PUERTO RICAN SPANISH VERB SYSTEM IN A LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION

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Language Policy Task Force

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ERRATA:

Page 20, 7th line from bottom, change "English" to "Spanish"

p. 27, first paragraph, change "2.9%" to "2%"

p. 26, Table 3, column for PAST, change "54.3" to"54.1"

"30.5" to "30.4"

"1.2" to "1.4" (simple present)

also change Total to 2265

p. 32, Table 4, change preterite perfect vernacular from "17" to " 18"

NO CASE FOR CONVERGENCE: THE PUERTO RICAN SPANISH VERB SYSTEM IN A LANGUAGE CONTACT SITUATION[1]

Alicia Pousada and Shana Poplack

1. Introduction

In situations of language contact it is often the case that the language of less (economically or politically) prestigeful groups adapts to the patterns of the superordinate language (Bloomfield 1933, Weinreich 1953). This kind of convergence may occur at all levels of linguistic structure, although lexical transference has been by far the most widely attested.

The grammatical component of language has traditionally been considered relatively stable and perhaps even impervious to external influence (Meillet 1921, Sapir 1927). More recently, however, empirical studies of language use in a wide variety of multilingual communities (e.g. Weinreich 1953, Gumperz 1971, Clyne 1972, Klein 1977, Lavandera 1978) have demonstrated that grammatical systems in contact can influence each other. In particular, Gumperz' seminal study of multilingualism in Kupwar, India (1971) describes a situation in which the grammatical systems of three languages have converged to such an extent that they may be said to have a single syntactic surface structure (p. 256).

The Puerto Rican communities in the United States provide an excellent example of language contact, as many have contained stable bilingual populations since the 1930's. The influence of English on Puerto Rican Spanish has been noted throughout the history of the contact situation (e.g. de Granda 1968, Klein 1976, Perez Sala 1975, Anisman 1975, Varo 1971, Seda Bonilla 1970). The majority of these observations, however, have been impressionistic and have focused predominantly on the easily discernible process of lexical transference.

2. Goals

In this study we examine quantitatively the systems of tense, mood and aspect in Puerto Rican Spanish spoken in the United States. Verb usage is a sensitive gauge of linguistic influence or change. The verbal system is a tightly-knit amalgam of morphology, syntax, and semantics, and can signal change at any of these levels. Verbs appear in virtually every sentence, making it feasible to collect a large body of data for analysis. In addition, the number of different forms, though large, is not unmanageable. Finally, there is sufficient overlap of the English and Spanish verb systems to allow meaningful comparisons.

By focusing on these core elements of grammar, traditionally most resistant to change, we hope to shed some

empirical light on the general problem of linguistic evolution in multilingual communities--is the influence of the prestige* language as pervasive as has been claimed, or is it largely limited to low-level but highly visible lexical transference? Specifically, we will seek answers to the following questions:

1) Has the system of tense, mood, and aspect used by Puerto Ricans in the United States diverged from Spanish as spoken in Puerto Rico or from standard Castilian Spanish?

2) Are the semantic fields, or ranges of meaning, of verb forms being extended or restricted, and in what direction? Are some forms being extended to cover semantic fields of other forms which have fallen into disuse within the Puerto Rican Spanish system, or is there adaptation to specifically English semantic fields?

3) Who is initiating any divergence from standard varieties? Is the change favored by bilingual or English-dominant speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish? Do these speakers employ some verb forms where they are not used by monolingual speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish?

4) What can we predict about the Puerto Rican Spanish tense/mood system in the speech of future generations?

To answer these questions, this study makes an empirical assessment of the distribution of surface verb forms throughout the entire verbal paradigm, as well as the semantic

*The term 'prestige' is used here in its technical sense. No value judgment should be imputed.

fields covered by each. We compare the relative frequencies of these forms with data from standard Puerto Rican Spanish, modern and 15th century peninsular Spanish, and English. Such systematic quantitative analysis should produce valuable evidence with which to corroborate or refute the observations of less extensive, qualitative studies of verb usage in American Spanish which characterize the literature (Floyd 1978).

Other motivations for a study of verb usage come from educational curricula, methodology and language proficiency testing. Knowledge of the actual distribution of verb forms in Puerto Rican Spanish would be a helpful tool in the determination of teaching practices and priorities. It is just beginning to be acknowledged (Bratt-Paulston 1978) that grammatical structures cannot be taught to native speakers in the same way as they have traditionally been taught to non-natives: the competence already possessed by the students should be taken into consideration. If certain forms occur rarely or never in Puerto Rican speech, they can be assigned lower priority in the learning load than other more frequent and functional structures.

There are further implications for the testing of language proficiency. Current rating scales are based on indications of successful acquisition of vocabulary items as well as of specific verb forms.[2] However, without data on

both the actual frequency of occurrence of given forms and their functional load, any assessment of proficiency based on their acquisition must be arbitrary, or, at best, geared toward foreign rather than native linguistic competence. Forms which are members of 'regular' grammatical paradigms are not always learned first by the native speaker, and as we will show, some of the most complicated of structures are also the most commonly used. Measurements of language proficiency should register these facts.

3. Hypothesis

Several mechanisms for the grammatical influence of one language upon another have been postulated. De Granda (1968) posits a process of 'grammaticalization', or convergence of the Spanish spoken in Puerto Rico to parallel English structures. He claims that the influence of the prestige language (English) forces the subordinate language to select and favor those forms which most closely parallel its own semantic fields or expressive forms, while eliminating those which have less correspondence with it (p. 166).

Klein (1976:1) has suggested that such a process might be most likely to occur in areas where the languages in contact have constructions which are parallel morphologically, but which only partially overlap in their conditions of use. In a quantitative study of the use of two such constructions

in the Puerto Rican Spanish of Spanish-dominant and bilingual speakers in the United States, she found that the bilinguals' system of present reference in Puerto Rican Spanish was converging with English (p. 13).

In explaining the convergence of three grammatical systems in Kupwar to the extent that all speakers now speak 'word-for-word translatable codes', Gumperz (1971) suggested that it is the need for constant code-switching which has led to reduction and adaptation in linguistic structure (p. 271).

In the Puerto Rican speech community under investigation, code-switching (along with the monolingual use of Spanish and English) is also an integral part of the communicative repertoire (Pedraza ms.). Moreover, the code-switching behavior of the community has been found (Poplack 1978, 1979) to obey a syntactic equivalence constraint: codes tend to be switched at points around which the surface structures of the two languages map onto each other. Given this constraint, and the use of code-switching as an interactional resource, we might expect to find, as has been suggested by Lavandera (1978) for a bilingual Chicano dialect, that Puerto Rican Spanish verb usage is being reinterpreted on the model of English to provide more potential loci for grammatical code-switching.

To examine this possibility, we will first compare the

standard Spanish and English verbal systems. For those usages where the two systems already coincide, we cannot expect the influence of one language to cause a change in the other. On the other hand, those areas where the two systems differ to a greater or lesser extent could conceivably reveal transference from one language to another.

No Overlap	Partial Overlap	Total Overlap
PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE: bese 'that I kiss'	SIMPLE PRESENT: beso 'I kiss'	PRETERITE PERFECT: había besado 'I had kissed'
IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE: besara 'that I (would) kiss'	IMPERFECT: besaba 'I used to kiss/ was kissing'	PRETERITE ANTERIOR: hube besado 'I had kissed'
FUTURE SUBJUNCTIVE: besare 'that I (will) kiss'	PRETERITE: besé 'I kissed/did kiss'	FUTURE PREFECT: habré besado 'I will have kissed'
PRESENT PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE: haya besado 'that I have kissed'	PRESENT PERFECT: he besado 'I kissed/have kissed'	CONDITIONAL: besaría 'I would kiss'
PRETERITE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE: hubiera besado 'that I had kissed'	PRETERITE AUXILIARY + INFINITIVE: pude besar, tuve que besar 'I could/had to kiss'	PRETERITE CONDITIONAL: habría besado 'I would have kissed'
FUTURE PERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE: hubiere besado 'that I have kissed'	IMPERFECT AUXILIARY + INFINITIVE: podía besar, tenía que besar 'I could/had to kiss'	PRETERITE PERIPHRASTIC FUTURE: voy a besar 'I am going to kiss'
	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE: estoy besando 'I am kissing'	IMPERFECT PERI-PHRASTIC: iba a besar 'I was going to kiss'
	IMPERFECT PROGRESSIVE: estaba besando 'I was kissing'	PRESENT AUXILIARY + INFINITIVE: puedo besar, tengo que besar 'I can/ have to kiss'
	PRETERITE PROGRESSIVE: estuve besando 'I was kissing'	IMPERATIVE: ¡besa! 'kiss!'
	FUTURE: besaré 'I will kiss'	INFINITIVE: besar 'to kiss'

Table 1. Overlapping conditions of usage in Standard Spanish and Standard English Verbal Forms.

Table 1 shows that of the 26 verb forms under consideration, 10 coincide totally with English usage. None of the six morphological manifestations of the Spanish subjunctive mood correspond to any English form, as English may be considered to have preserved the subjunctive/indicative distinction only lexically in a closed set of forms involving the first and third person (Quirk and Greenbaum 1978:51-52). An additional 10 forms show partially overlapping conditions of usage with English, a situation hypothesized to favor transference from one language to the other. These will be examined in greater detail in the ensuing section.

4. Distribution of Verb Forms by Semantic Field

A variety of meanings may be expressed by a single surface verb, and conversely. The various forms in Table 1 may be organized into three semantic fields: {PAST},{PRESENT}, and{FUTURE}. We provide here a summary examination of the surface possibilities for expressing each verbal semantic field in Spanish, as well as a comparison with English possibilities where relevant.

4.1. {PRESENT}

Four verbal forms may be used to express the semantic field {PRESENT} in Spanish, as can be seen in (1) below:

1a. Simple Present: Yo <u>soy</u> de Cayey. 'I'm from Cayey.' (003/016)[3]

1b. Present Auxiliary + Infinitive: No <u>pueden hablar</u> mucho en inglés conmigo. 'They can't speak much English with me.' (037/383)

1c. Present Progressive: Estoy economizando dinero. 'I'm saving money.' (004/029)

1d. Future: No sé porqué será. 'I don't know why that is.' (052/247)

4.1.1. Simple Present.[4] The Simple Present is most commonly used to describe an imperfective action in the present, a 'law' of nature, or an habitual activity, as in (2):

2a. No saben de que eran. 'They don't know what they were from.' (004/021)

2b. Uno mata por amor, pero por pena no. 'One kills out of love, but not out of pity.' (052/155)

2c. Yo siempre voy por un mes o dos meses. 'I always go for one or two months.' (039/122)

4.1.2. Present Progressive. The Progressive is generally used to express an activity or condition in progress at the moment of speaking, as in (3):

3. ¡Ave María! ¡Estoy chorreando yo aquí! 'Oh god! I'm dripping!' (002/1)

4.1.3. Simple Present vs. Present Progressive. The conditions of use of the Simple Present and Present Progressive differ from Spanish to English. Although characterization of these differences is complex, they may be generally summed up by the fact that ongoing action, which in English must be conveyed by the Present Progressive, may be expressed in Spanish by either form, as in (4):

4. ¡Mira, el barco se hunde/se está hundiendo! 'Look, the boat is sinking!'

Given the low frequency of the Progressive in monolingual Spanish (Zdenek 1972:499), and the fact that components of the English system of present reference are mutually exclusive, while in Spanish they are not, it has been hypothesized (e.g. de Granda 1968, Klein 1976) that a large incidence of the Progressive to convey ongoing action in the speech of Puerto Rican bilinguals is due to influence from English.

4.2. {PAST}

There are many different ways to express an action in the past depending on the degree of remoteness and the aspectual characteristics of the action. Hadlich (1971) identifies three main aspects for past 'tense' verbs: the perfective, the imperfective, and the subsequent.

If an action was perfective and completed in the past, the Preterite or the Preterite Anterior are used, the last being differentiated by the degree of remoteness, as in (9):

9a. Yo vine a Caguas como cuando tenía seis años. 'I came to Caguas like when I was six.' (003/071)

9b. Pero no hubo tenido intimidades de madre y hija. 'But she hadn't had a close mother-daughter relationship.' (050/130)

If the action was imperfective without any mark of initiation or termination, the Imperfect, Present Perfect, and Preterite Perfect are used, the last two again being differentiated by degree of remoteness in the past, as in (10):

10a. Imperfect: ¿Estaba felíz? 'Was he happy?' (048/029)

10b. Present Perfect: Tienes que pagar los gastos que ellos te han dado. 'You have to pay back the money they've given you.' (003/109)

10c. Preterite Perfect: No había tenido hijos de mi esposo. 'I hadn't had any children by my husband.' (050/114)

Finally, if the action took place in the past and was directed into the future, the Future Perfect and the Preterite Conditional are used. These were not attested in the data. In addition, Past Periphrastic and Progressive forms as well as the Historical Present may be used to convey {PAST}. These are exemplified in (11) below:

11a. Imperfect Auxiliary + Infinitive: Mi mamá era pobrecita y tenía que buscar sus chavos. 'My mother was poor and had to work hard for her money.' (050/065)

11b. Preterite Auxiliary + Infinitive: Tuvimos que usar carbón. 'We had to use coal.' (037/039)

11c. Historical Present: Yo entré en la barra y dije "Déme un vaso de agua" y me mira Ralph y dijo "¡Que!". 'I went into the bar and said "Give me a glass of water" and Ralph sees me and said "What!".' (004/027)

The Simple Present can also be used to express a durative action in the past as in 11d:

11d. Ella me la cuida desde que ella tenía seis meses. "She's taken care of her for me since she was six months old.' (052/250)

4.2.1. Preterite vs. Present Perfect. In both Spanish and English the Preterite is used to convey perfective

as opposed to imperfective aspect. In Spanish the Preterite is used to refer to the beginning, end, or entirety of an event, state, or characteristic occurring prior to the moment of speaking, as in (13a), while the Imperfect is used to refer to the progression or middle of the event (13b). The Imperfect is also used to refer to an event which was in progress when another event took place (13c) and with time expressions, as in (13d). Although the opposition of Preterite and Imperfect is more complicated than has been indicated here (Guitart 1978), the basic distinction outlined above is sufficient for the present purposes.

13a. Anoche leí el libro entero. 'Last night I read the whole book.'

13b. Yo leía a menudo ese periódico. 'I often read/used to read that newspaper.'

13c. Yo estaba afuera cuando sonó el teléfono. 'I was outside when the phone rang.'

13d. Eran las tres cuando sonó el teléfono. 'It was three o'clock when the phone rang.'

English does not distinguish between the Imperfect and the Preterite except by the Past Progressive or the *used to* plus verb formation. This is an area in which one might expect some degree of convergence towards English on the part of bilingual speakers.

4.3. {FUTURE}

Unlike the fields of {PRESENT} and {PAST}, {FUTURE} is not differentiated aspectually, as it is imperfective by its very nature. In Spanish the semantic field {FUTURE} can

be expressed by the Future Indicative, the Present Indicative, and the Periphrastic Future, as in (14) below:

14a. Yo iré después pa' allá. 'I'll go there later.'

14b. Yo voy después pa' allá. 'I('ll) go there later.' (048/079)

14c. Yo voy a ir después pa' allá. 'I'm going to go there later.'

All of these verbal forms correspond to English forms.

There are two other sets of forms which may be considered to express futurity--the Subjunctive and the Conditional. Both are characterized by their hypothetical, imperfective, future orientation.

The Subjunctive in Spanish is subject to many complicated rules of usage; however, the basic pattern involves use of this form in subordinate clauses whenever the (surface or underlying) main verb expresses a doubtful, possible, necessary, or desired action.

Theoretically, there is a Subjunctive form to match every indicative form. In reality, only four of the Subjunctive forms are commonly used: the Present, Imperfect, Present Perfect, and Preterite Perfect. The three Future Subjunctives have all but disappeared in modern Spanish usage.

15a. Present Subjunctive: Entonces, uno lo tapa para que coja olor. 'Then you cover it so that it can take on the aroma.' (050/059)

15b. Imperfect Subjunctive: Yo quería que las conociera. 'I wanted her to get to know them.' (050/128)

15c. Present Perfect Subjunctive: Ningún boricua, menos que no haya estudiado suficiente pa' poderlo hablar como se debe. 'No Puerto Rican, unless he has studied enough to be able to speak it the way it should be spoken.' (036/200)

15d. Preterite Perfect Subjunctive: Nosotros siempre actuábamos como si hubieramos sido acabados de conocer. 'We always used to act as if we had just met.' (050/362)

There is very little direct overlap with English in conditions for use of the Subjunctive, as English has lexicalized or lost most of the distinctions expressed in Spanish by the Subjunctive. The only areas in which these forms can still be recognized in English surface structure are the third person singular forms of the Present Subjunctive and the Present and Past Subjunctive forms of the verb 'to be', as in (16) below:

16a. It is necessary that he come immediately.

16b. If I were a rich man...

16c. We recommend that he be fired.

As Spanish has many obligatory sites for the use of the Subjunctive while English has virtually none, this is a potential locus for transference on the part of bilingual speakers.

The Conditional is used to posit hypothetical events, and is often found in the result clause after a Subjunctive form in the if-clause.

17a. No me gustaría vivir aquí. 'I wouldn't like to live here.' (003/092)

17b. Si recobrara la salud, iríamos a Puerto Rico. 'If he could get back his health, we would go to Puerto Rico.'

As in English, the Conditional can also be used to express politeness:

17c. ¿Te gustaría probar las habichuelas? 'Would you like to taste the beans?

Finally, the Conditional can be used to express conjecture in the past (parallelling the use of the Future for expressing conjecture in the present).

17d. Serían las doce cuando vino. 'It was (probably) twelve o'clock when he came.'

5. Methodology

Several grammars of Spanish (e.g. Bello 1970; Alfonso 1964, 1968; de Val 1966, Stevenson 1970, Socarras 1975) were consulted to arrive at the list of 26 possible verb forms in the active voice shown in Table 1. Note that in addition to the tenses and moods traditionally included in prescriptive grammar paradigms, we examined several compound forms and aspectual structures separately: the Present, Imperfect and Preterite Progressives, and periphrastic formations consisting of auxiliary verbs (with or without prepositions or conjunctions) plus infinitives (e.g. voy a ir 'I'm going to go'). These additional forms were included in the analysis because of their function as variants of

other Spanish verb forms, the fact that like traditional verb forms they may be considered to function as single units, and because of their surface similarity to English forms.

Non-conjugable verbal derivatives such as gerunds (which in Spanish function as adverbs, and in English, as nouns) and past participles (functioning as adjectives) were omitted from this study.

We further distinguished absolute or systemic uses of verb forms from extended or non-systemic uses (Bull 1971). Absolute uses are those in which the function of the form is defined by its systemic position, i.e. the uses most commonly associated with the verbs. The systemic position may be altered, changing the orientation of the verb form. These alterations are extensions of the semantic fields of the surface forms. The meaning of a verb form used in an extended sense is inferred from adverbial expressions, other verbs, or markers of temporal shift which indicate its context in time.

Extensions must be considered separately in order to examine the ways in which tense, mood, and aspect are conveyed in surface structure. Thus, in a sentence like Mañana voy a Ponce 'Tomorrow I go to Ponce', voy is considered a manifestation of the present in its surface form and of the future in its extended sense. Apparent divergences from the 'standard' as noted in grammar books were checked as potential sites of changing verb usage in order to ascertain

whether they occurred in the Spanish of New York City Puerto Ricans, and further, if some verb form usage has been extended either to cover the semantic fields of other Spanish tenses which have fallen into disuse, or to include English semantic fields.

Each occurrence of a verb form (excluding lone gerunds and participles) was coded for speaker, for speech style, and according to whether it was used in an absolute or extended sense. Invariant verb forms such as those occurring in frozen phrases (e.g. tú sabes 'you know', vamos a poner 'let's say') and proverbial expressions (e.g. uno sabe donde nace pero no donde muere 'you know where you were born, but not where you'll die') were excluded from the analysis.

Percentages of occurrences of each type of form were calculated over all speakers in our primary sample according to language dominance, extended use, speech style, and sex. Intra-group comparisons were made, as well as comparisons with modern Andalusian Spanish, Puerto Rican and historical Castilian standards, and English.

To determine the statistical significance of the results, we compared the log-likelihood of rate estimates for the various groupings separately as compared to that for the combined data. In addition, we examined the distribution of verb forms using rank correlation coefficient measures.

6. The Sample

The primary data on which this study is based were collected as part of an interdisciplinary study of language use in El Barrio of East Harlem, New York, one of the oldest continuous Puerto Rican settlements in the United States. This is apparently a stable bilingual community, which includes speakers who are dominant or monolingual in both Spanish and English.

Twelve long-time residents (at least 10 years) of the community were selected as informants primarily on the basis of language dominance, as determined by self-report, ethnographic observation, and linguistic analysis. Six are Spanish-dominant or monolingual, having migrated to New York at adolescence or later, and six are English-dominant or balanced bilinguals, having arrived in early childhood. The groups are evenly divided by sex, and members range in age from 20 to 57. Only adults were included in this study in order to distinguish dialectal from developmental variation.

Sample members report more years of schooling than the general Puerto Rican population in New York City (United States Department of Labor 1975:50-52). Two-thirds have had some high school education, and all but one have completed the seventh grade. Those informants who attended school in both Puerto Rico and New York City (5/8) report having received instruction in Spanish and English. The majority of

those who claim to be Spanish-dominant report Spanish as their habitual language of literacy, while the reverse is true for the English-dominant group.

A questionnaire administered to the informants reveals a near consensus on the attitudes that command of the Spanish language is not necessary to be Puerto Rican, and that Spanish is not well regarded by American society at large; but that it should nevertheless be kept alive in the Puerto Rican community in New York.

Most respondents (8/12) claim to speak 'good Spanish', regardless of reported language dominance. Indeed, when asked to rate their Spanish competence on a seven-point scale, the majority rated themselves as 'perfect' or 'excellent' speakers. 'Good Spanish' was described in a variety of ways by these speakers, with good vocabulary and pronunciation the most frequently recurring characterizations. Only one speaker pointed to grammatical correctness as an identifying feature of good Spanish.

When asked who could be considered to speak English well, only three respondents cited Spaniards. Other responses included 'older people', who are mostly Spanish-dominant speakers in this community. Sample members are fairly evenly divided between those who feel that Spanish should be the official language of Puerto Rico, and those who would prefer both Spanish and English. All respondents but three

plan to return to Puerto Rico to live at some point in the future.

This pattern of responses indicates strong positive feelings towards Spanish language maintenance as well as a clear community awareness of a Puerto Rican Spanish norm distinct from that of Castilian Spanish.

6.1. Comparative Data

For purposes of comparison with the Spanish-dominant and bilingual speakers, five other data sets were assembled. Two of these were based on sources of standard Spanish. Standard Puerto Rican Spanish is represented by an interview with José Luís González (González 1976), a prominent Puerto Rican writer who has evinced concern over the purity of Puerto Rican Spanish. Second, data on early modern Castilian Spanish are provided by a frequency analysis of verb usage in the 15th century picaresque novel La Celestina (Criado de Val 1966).

For purposes of cross-dialectal comparison, we analyzed the speech of a 29-year-old monolingual speaker of peninsular Spanish, who is an upper-middle-class native of Granada, Spain.[5]

Next, two data sets on English speech were collected in order to see whether verb usage in the Spanish data is indicative of language convergence or merely reflects systemic similarities between English and standard Spanish. First,

we examined the English verb usage of two additional speakers from East Harlem. These informants consider themselves to be English-dominant bilinguals. They were both born and raised in New York City, and neither has ever lived in Puerto Rico. Both have had a university education, and were employed at the time of the sampling in white collar positions. Then, to correct for any possible influence from Puerto Rican Spanish on the English of these speakers, their verb usage was compared with that of a middle-class, middle-aged non-Puerto Rican New Yorker, who is a monolingual speaker of English.

Each informant in the sample was tape-recorded in a variety of speech situations, which included responding formally to a language attitude questionnaire, participating in a semi-formal sociolinguistic interview, and using vernacular speech in interacting with peers.

From 29 hours of taped speech, 8,679 Puerto Rican Spanish vernacular verb forms were identified, including 6,532 from the Spanish-dominant group, and 2,147 from the bilinguals.[6] An additional 270 verb forms representing standard Puerto Rican Spanish were coded from eight consecutive pages chosen at random from a transcribed interview with González (González 1976). The interview format here provides a certain degree of comparability with the speech of the primary sample, although, due to its written form,

this data set can be characterized as far more formal in style. We also included 473 Andalusian Spanish verb forms and 2,258 English forms in the study for purposes of comparison, totalling 11,680 instances of verb usage in all.

7. Results

A noteworthy result of this study is that there was virtually no divergence from standard usage among the 8,679 Spanish verb forms collected from our primary sample. Uses not attested in prescriptive grammars constituted less than 1% of the data.

Of the 26 verb forms listed in Table 2, four were not attested at all: Future Perfect, Future Subjunctive, Future Perfect Subjunctive, and Preterite Conditional. As the first three are highly literary forms, it is not surprising that there were no occurrences. Of the 22 remaining forms, 12 occur infrequently enough to represent 1% or less of the data. Table 2 shows that the four inflected forms comprising the subjunctive mood together constitute less than 4% of the data. Indeed, aside from the two uninflected forms (Infinitive and Imperative), there are only three quantitatively important forms. The largest share of all verbal forms is represented by the Simple Present--it accounts for half of the data. The Preterite accounts for 14%, and the Imperfect, 8%. All other inflected forms individually represent 3% or less of the total of verbal forms.

		Vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish						Standard PRS	
		Spanish Dominants		Bilinguals		All Speakers			
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
INDICATIVE	present	3231	49.5	1078	50.2	4309	49.6	133	49.3
	preterite	904	13.8	324	15.1	1228	14.1	25	9.3
	imperfect	543	8.3	148	6.9	691	8.0	15	5.6
	present perfect	143	2.2	43	2.0	186	2.1	6	1.1
	conditional	49	0.8	14	0.7	63	0.7	10	3.7
	preterite perfect	22	0.3	5	0.2	27	0.3	2	0.7
	future	12	0.2	3	0.1	15	0.2	5	1.9
	preterite anterior	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0
	future perfect	-		-		-		-	
	preterite conditional	-		-		-		-	
PERIPHRASTIC	present modal + infinitive	245	3.8	78	3.6	323	3.7	12	4.4
	present periphrastic future	158	2.4	43	2.0	201	2.3	4	1.5
	imperfect modal + infinitive	23	0.4	16	0.7	39	0.4	0	0.0
	preterite modal + infinitive	15	0.2	6	0.3	21	0.2	1	0.4
	imperfect periphrastic future	4	0.1	4	0.2	8	0.1	0	0.0
PROGRESSIVE	present progressive	135	2.1	54	2.5	189	2.2	2	0.7
	imperfect progressive	26	0.4	5	0.2	31	0.4	0	0.0
	preterite progressive	6	0.1	3	0.1	9	0.1	0	0.0
SUBJUNCTIVE	present subjunctive	257	3.9	51	2.4	309	3.5	7	2.6
	imperfect subjunctive	71	2.0	10	0.5	81	0.9	2	0.7
	preterite perfect subjunctive	4	0.1	2	0.1	6	0.1	0	0.0
	present perfect subjunctive	1	0.0	1	0.0	2	0.0	1	0.4
	future subjunctive	-		-		-		-	
	future perfect subjunctive	-		-		-		-	
	imperative	173	2.6	82	3.8	255	2.9	0	0.0
	infinitive	510	7.8	176	8.2	686	7.9	45	16.7
	TOTALS	6532		2147		8679		270	

Table 2. Verb distribution in Vernacular and Standard Puerto Rican Spanish.[7]

How does Puerto Rican Spanish express distinctions of tense, mood, and aspect by means of these three favored forms? As mentioned above, each verb use was coded for its surface form as well as its extended meaning where relevant. Table 3 shows how verb forms are distributed to convey the semantic fields of {PRESENT}, {PAST}, and {FUTURE}. By far the preferred form of expressing present reference is through use of the Simple Present. Preterite and Imperfect forms are generally used to express past reference, with the Present Perfect also representing a sizeable though lesser contribution.

{PAST}			{PRESENT}			{FUTURE}		
	N	%		N	%		N	%
preterite	1225	54.3	simple present	4147	88.9	present periphrastic future	201	24.8
imperfect	689	30.5	present modal + infinitive	323	6.9	simple present	131	16.2
present perfect	186	8.2	present progressive	189	4.1	future	10	1.2
imperfect modal + infinitive	39	1.7	future	5	0.1	past periphrastic	8	1.0
imperfect progressive	31	1.4				conditional	63	7.8
simple present	38	1.2				present subjunctive	308	38.1
preterite perfect	27	1.2				imperfect subjunctive	81	10.1
preterite modal + infinitive	21	0.9				perfect subjunctives	7	0.9
preterite progressive	9	0.4						
Totals	2255			4664			809	

N = 7,728

Table 3. Distribution of inflected verb forms by semantic field in Puerto Rican Spanish of East Harlem Speakers.[8]

Results for the semantic field of {FUTURE}, however, are somewhat less predictable. As can be seen, the single verb form used most frequently to convey futurity is the Present Subjunctive, a form we included in this category because of its imperfective and future-oriented nature. When we examine only those forms used to convey futurity directly, we find that the Present Periphrastic and Simple Present are the preferred ways of expressing this semantic field, with the inflected Future itself accounting for only 2.9% of the remaining data.

This finding explains how speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish express {PRESENT}, {PAST}, and {FUTURE} by means of a basic present ∿ past tense distinction: the Present has been extended to cover the semantic field of the Future, which is used only rarely and not necessarily to convey {FUTURE}. (Note from Table 3 that one-third of the attested Future forms were used for {PRESENT} reference.

These findings are in keeping with studies on Spanish in the Southwest reviewed by Floyd (1978). While not directly comparable to ours because they are not quantitative, these studies repeatedly indicate that the Present, Imperfect, and Preterite are the most productive forms, maintaining their usual functions as well as expanding to include those of other verbal forms.

The substitution of the Present as well as the periphrastic construction for the Future has been widely observed in California, Texas, and Colorado, and the use of the Present for the Preterite and the Present Perfect has also been noted, though less generally. The distinctions between the Preterite and Imperfect, and between the Preterite and Present Perfect have been maintained in Chicano Spanish, though there have been limited observations of variation between forms. Contrary to the findings reported for the Puerto Rican community below, the use of the Imperfect in either clause of conditional sentences has been frequently noted in Southwest Spanish.

In general, it has been reported that compound forms of both the indicative and subjunctive moods are used infrequently and occasionally replaced by other forms. Use of the progressives has been widely observed, and they have even been reported to take on functions of the Simple Present and Imperfect. As we will see, this tendency is not exhibited by Puerto Rican Spanish.

7.1. Extended Usage

The use of verbs in an extended sense accounts for only 2% of our data (n = 179). Eleven types of extended uses occurred, four of which are considered perfectly acceptable by prescriptive Spanish grammars. The occurrence of two others (use of the Present for the Imperative,

and the Imperfect for the Conditional) has been noted in descriptions of other Spanish dialects (Floyd 1978), as well as in standard Spanish grammars. The remaining five types of extended use (eight examples) do not form any particular pattern. These were uttered by both Spanish-dominant and bilingual speakers. Examples of these may be seen in (18) below:

18a. Simple Present substituted for Subjunctive (2 examples): Quieren que los nenes no saben [sepan]. 'They want the children not to know.' (43/171)

18b. Subjunctive substituted for Present Perfect (1 example): ¡No me digas que lo hayas dejado [has dejado] puesto! 'Don't tell me you left it on! (04/005)

18c. Infinitive substituted for Simple Present or Subjunctive (3 examples): You know, como tú hablarles [les hablas/les hables] como si tú--te están hablando contigo--como tú hablarles, como tú corresponderles. 'You know, the way you speak to them, as if you--they're speaking to you--the way you speak to them, the way you communicate with them.' (037/243)

8. Comparative Evidence From the Puerto Rican Standard

Table 2 reveals strikingly little difference between 'standard' verb usage and that of the East Harlem sample. Comparing the log-likelihoods of rate estimates calculated from these figures separately and combined, reveals that the most significant differences between the two data sources are in the area of past tense forms (Preterite and Imperfect) which are used more by the East Harlem

speakers than in the standard represented by González. This is due to a greater proportion of informal speech in the East Harlem data, which included many narratives of personal experience requiring verb forms in the past.

Of the inflected forms, on the other hand, González uses significantly ($p<.001$) more Conditional and Future than do the other speakers. Use of the Conditional is probably an aspect of academic or learned speaking characterized by hypothetical argument and mitigating suggestions. Finally, although González used more inflected future forms, there was no significant rate difference in the use of the Periphrastic Future. As in other languages, such as French and English, the Future in Puerto Rican Spanish is probably largely reserved as a marker of highly formal speech performance. The absence of the Imperative in González' data is due to the interview situation from which they were extracted. Similarly, in the East Harlem data, as will be seen in Table 4, Imperatives were used least in the informal interview and most frequently in vernacular settings, primarily when addressing children.

9. Contribution of Extra-linguistic Factors to Verb Usage

9.1. Sex

Sex of the speaker was not a distinguishing factor in the use of verb forms.

9.2. Language Dominance

It had been hypothesized that reported and observed language dominance would play a major role in differentiating patterns of verb usage. Spanish-dominant Puerto Ricans could be considered to be less under the influence of English than are bilinguals.

As can be seen in Table 2, however, there is remarkably little difference between the two groups. Indeed, the most startling aspect of these findings is their great regularity. Log-likelihood tests based on these figures reveal that the only significant area of difference is in the use of the Subjunctive. The bilinguals use somewhat less of these forms than the Spanish-dominant speakers, a tendency which had been hypothesized (e.g. de Granda 1968) to be due to convergence toward English. Although this possibility cannot be overruled, no conclusive evidence in its favor has yet been presented. Note that the slight increase in use of the Subjunctive by Spanish-dominant speakers is not accompanied by significant rate differences between any other forms. What is more, Table 2 shows that 'standard' Puerto Rican Spanish is characterized by subjunctive usage closer to that of the bilinguals than to that of the Spanish-dominant speakers. These results, then, cannot be considered evidence for any significant degree of convergence of vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish towards English.

Verb Forms	SPEECH STYLE: Informal		Questionnaire		Vernacular	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
present	919	36.8	1766	61.3	1624	49.3
preterite	645	25.8	147	5.1	436	13.2
imperfect	368	14.7	117	4.1	206	6.3
present perfect	69	2.8	71	2.5	46	1.4
conditional	9	0.4	40	1.4	14	0.4
preterite perfect	8	0.3	1	0.0	17	0.5
future	5	0.2	7	0.2	3	0.1
preterite anterior	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
present modal + infinitive	56	2.2	150	5.2	117	3.4
present periphrastic future	52	2.1	45	1.6	104	3.2
imperfect modal + infinitive	15	0.6	8	0.3	16	0.5
preterite modal + infinitive	8	0.3	4	0.1	9	0.3
imperfect periphrastic future	5	0.2	1	0.0	2	0.1
present progressive	35	1.4	68	2.4	86	2.6
imperfect progressive	9	0.4	7	0.2	15	0.2
preterite progressive	4	0.2	2	0.0	3	0.1
present subjunctive	53	2.1	122	4.2	133	4.0
imperfect subjunctive	28	1.1	17	0.6	36	1.1
preterite perfect subjunctive	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.2
present perfect subjunctive	0	0.0	1	0.0	1	0.0
imperative	24	1.0	40	1.4	191	5.8
infinitive	186	7.4	269	9.3	231	7.0
Totals	2499		2883		3297	

N = 8,679

Table 4. Verb distribution by speech style in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish.

10. Convergence?

Although the results presented in the preceding sections point to an overwhelming homogeneity of verb usage regardless of language dominance, it would be difficult to substantiate a claim that even the Spanish spoken by Spanish-dominant or monolingual Puerto Ricans has remained uninfluenced by English, considering that Puerto Rico has undergone several periods of official emphasis on English since 1898. Lack of variation might conceivably be explained by the possibility that the Spanish of both groups has been influenced by English.

To account for this possibility, we compared the East Harlem data first with data from 15th century Spanish, then with modern Andalusian Spanish, and finally with English.

10.1. Comparative Evidence from the Historical Standard

Figure 1 correlates the rank order of inflected verb form frequencies of the East Harlem and La Celestina data sources. Points lying near the diagonal represent forms of relatively equal importance in each corpus. Strikingly enough, Figure 1 shows that the relative ranking of verb form usage has remained basically unchanged since the 15th century. The rank correlation of these figures is .85 by Spearman's rho measure, indicating a strong similarity in the distribution of verbal forms. An apparent exception

involves the rank order of the Preterite Perfect in the two data sources. However, as can be seen in Table 5, this form is practically non-existent in both the East Harlem data and 15th century Spanish.

A more striking exception involves the inflected Future, precisely the form we have seen to be practically displaced by the Simple Present in modern-day vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish.

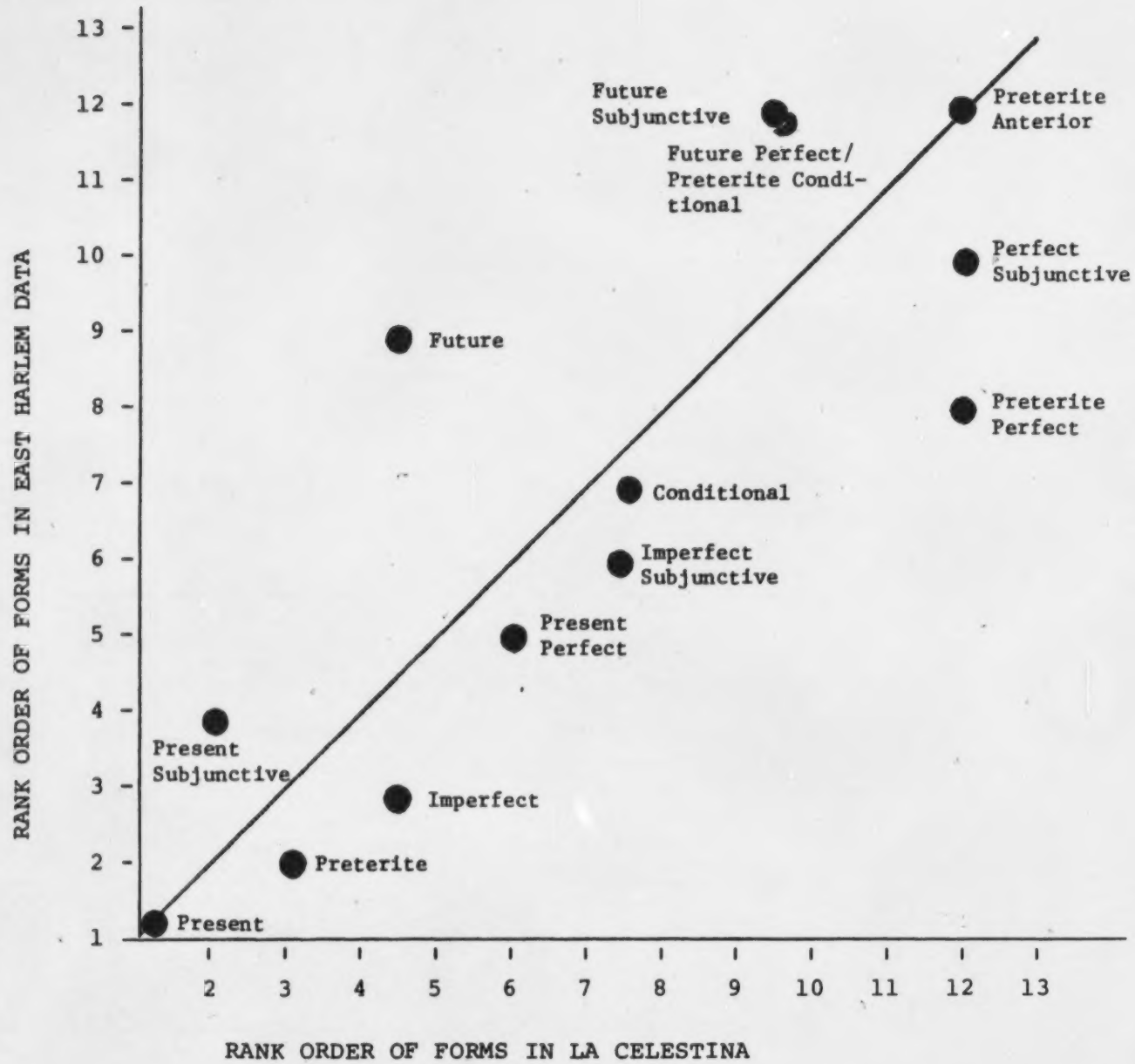

Figure 1. Rank order of inflected verb form frequencies in East Harlem data versus order in La Celestina.

Verb Forms	Vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish		La Celestina	
	N	%	N	%
present	4309	62.3	18.0	53.7
preterite	1228	17.8	3.5	10.4
present perfect	186	2.7	1.5	4.5
imperfect	691	10.0	2.0	6.0
preterite perfect	27	0.4	0.1	0.3
preterite anterior	1	0.0	0.0	0.3
future	15	0.2	2.0	6.0
conditional	63	0.9	0.6	1.8
future perfect / preterite conditional	0	0.0	0.5	1.5
present subjunctive	308	4.5	4.0	11.9
imperfect subjunctive	81	1.2	0.6	1.8
future subjunctive	0	0.0	0.5	1.5
all perfect subjunctive	8	0.1	0.1	0.3
Totals	6917		33.5	

Table 5. Verb distribution in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish and 15th century Spanish.[9]

10.2. Comparative Evidence from Modern Andalusian Spanish

Table 6 below compares verb distribution in vernacular Puerto Rican and Andalusian Spanish.

	Verb forms	Vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish		Modern Andalusian Spanish	
		N	%	N	%
INDICATIVE	present	4309	49.6	248	52.4
	preterite	1228	14.1	24	5.1
	imperfect	691	8.0	54	11.4
	present perfect	186	2.1	7	1.5
	conditional	63	0.7	9	1.9
	preterite perfect	27	0.3	0	0
	future	15	0.2	6	1.3
	preterite anterior	1	0.0	0	0
	future perfect	-		1	.2
	preterite conditional	-		0	0
PERIPHRASTIC	present modal + infinitive	323	3.7	22	4.7
	present periphrastic future	201	2.3	5	1.1
	imperfect modal + infinitive	39	0.4	9	1.9
	preterite modal + infinitive	21	0.2	0	0
	imperfect periphrastic future	8	0.1	0	0
PRO-GRESSIVE	present progressive	189	2.2	2	.4
	imperfect progressive	31	0.4	3	.6
	preterite progressive	9	0.1	0	0
SUBJUNCTIVE	present subjunctive	308	3.5	19	4.0
	imperfect subjunctive	81	0.9	7	1.5
	preterite perfect subjunctive	6	0.1	1	.2
	present perfect subjunctive	2	0.0	1	.2
	future subjunctive	-		0	0
	future perfect subjunctive	-		0	0
	imperative	255	2.9	0	0
	infinitive	686	7.9	55	11.6
	TOTALS	8679		473	

Table 6. Verb distribution in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish and Modern Andalusian Spanish.

Figure 2 shows that the rank orders of verb form frequencies in the East Harlem and Andalusian data sets are again very highly correlated, at .79 by Spearman's rho coefficient. One major difference is in use of the Imperative, a form not attested at all in Andalusian Spanish, due to the semi-formal nature of the interview situation from which the data were extracted. Other apparent exceptions in Figure 2, such as those involving the compound Preterite forms and the Imperfect Periphrastic Future, are due to sparse data (Table 6).

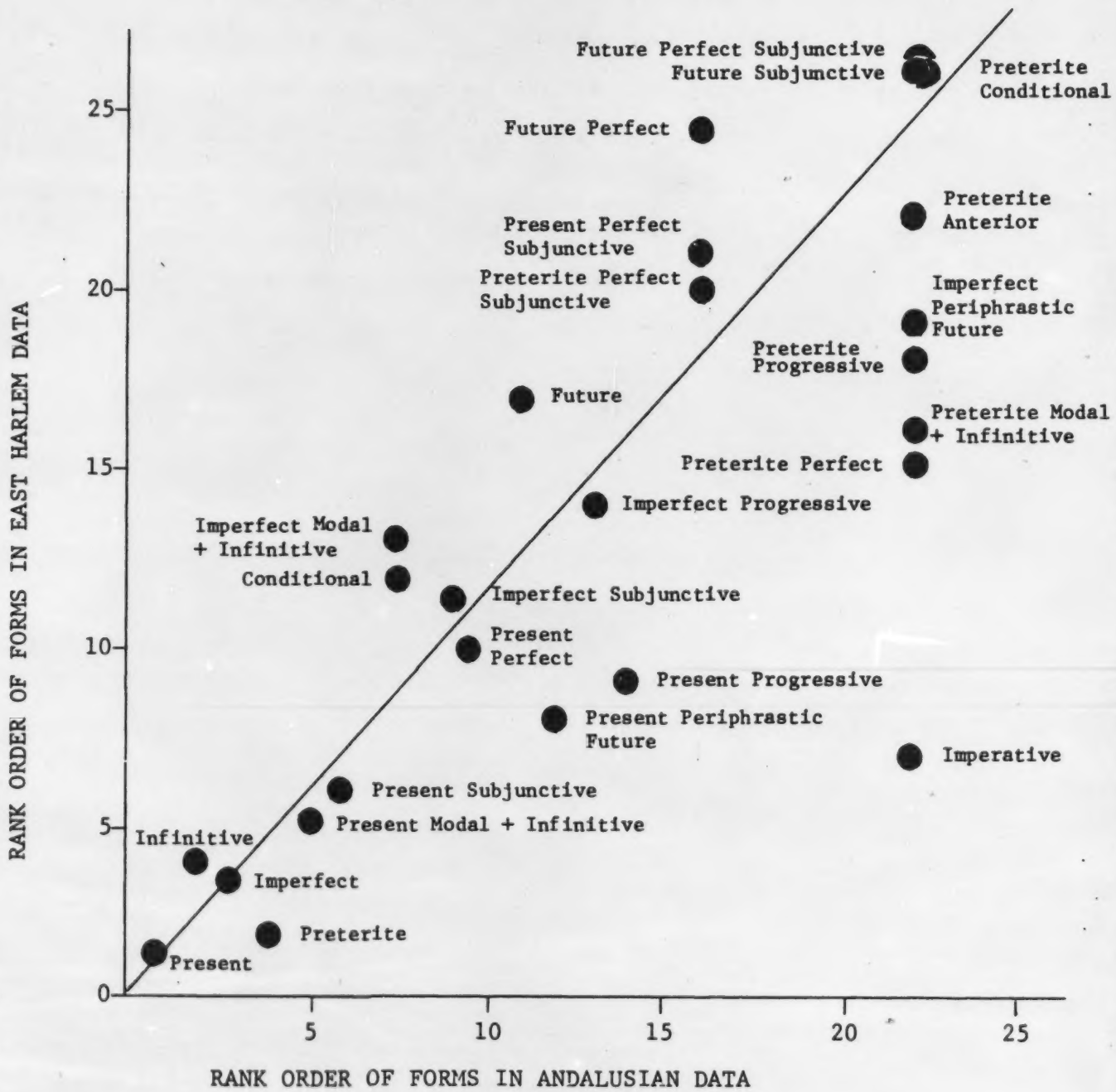

Figure 2. Rank order of verb form frequencies in East Harlem versus Andalusian data.

10.3. Comparative Evidence from English

When we compare the vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish verbs with English (Table 7), on the other hand, we find that their distribution is significantly different for every verb form but one, the Present Progressive, a form frequently cited as evidence of transference from English. This is not evidence for convergence, particularly since statistical tests show that there is no significant rate difference in use of the Present Progressive in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish and Andalusian Spanish, which could not have been influenced by English.

Moreover, the correlation of the rank order of verb distribution in Puerto Rican Spanish and English is only .53 (Figure 3). In fact, the Andalusian data show even greater similarity to English than does vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish, with a Spearman's rho coefficient of .57.

It is more likely that even this much similarity between the three data sets reflects either universals in tense distribution or sheer coincidence rather than the results of any historical relationship between English and the other two dialects.

Verb Forms	Vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish		English	
	N	%	N	%
present	4309	49.6	888	39.3
preterite / imperfect	1919	22.1	714	31.6
present perfect	186	2.1	29	1.3
conditional	63	0.7	86	3.8
preterite perfect / preterite anterior	28	0.3	20	0.9
future	15	0.2	50	2.2
present modal + infinitive	323	3.7	122	5.4
present periphrastic future	201	2.3	11	0.5
imperfect / preterite modal + infinitive	60	0.6	99	4.3
imperfect periphrastic future	8	0.1	2	0.1
present progressive	189	2.2	53	2.3
imperfect / preterite progressives	40	0.5	28	1.2
subjunctive	397	4.6	1	0.0
imperative	255	2.9	46	2.0
infinitive	686	7.9	109	4.8
Totals	8679		2258	

Table 7. Verb distribution in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish and in English.

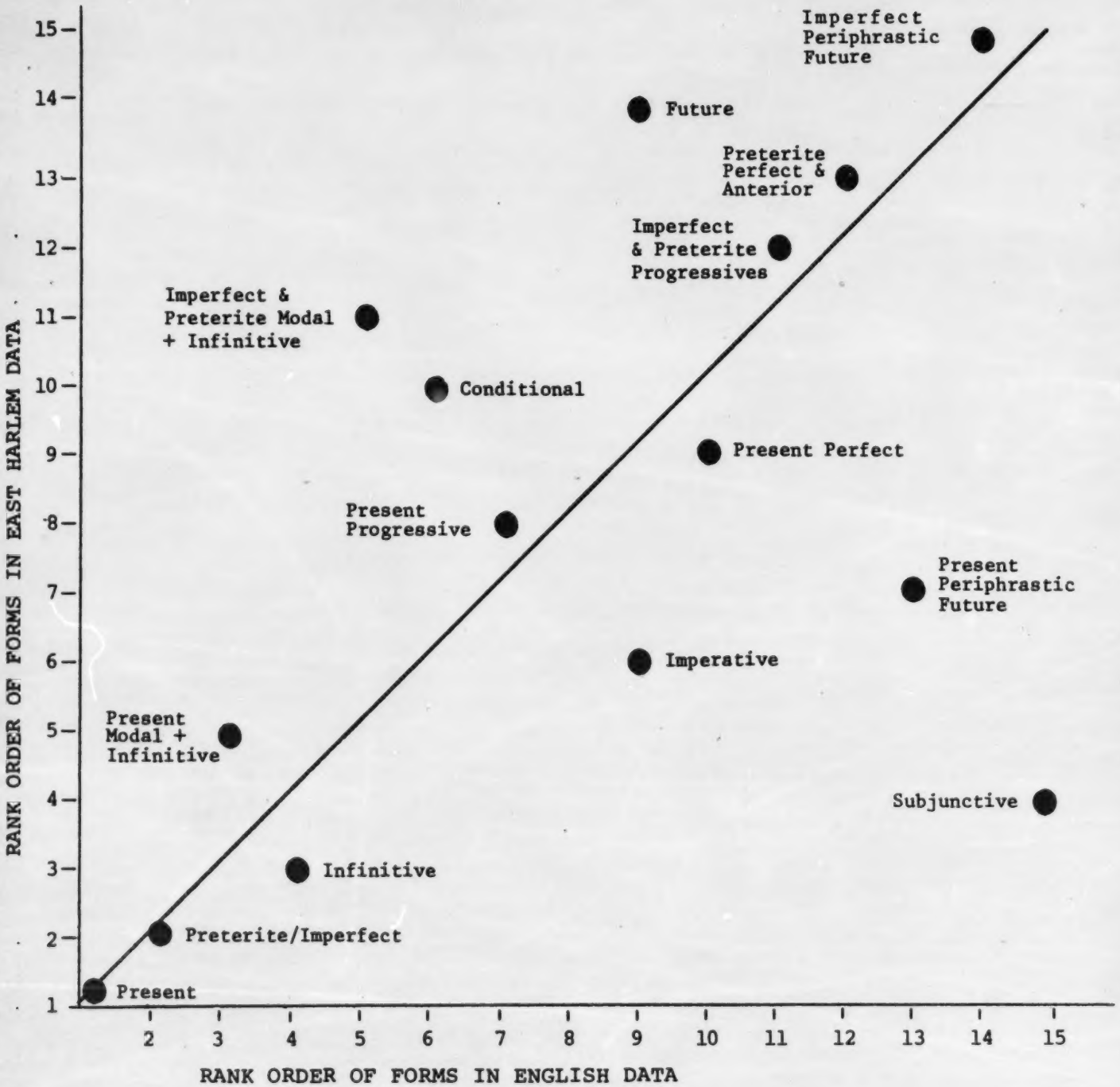

Figure 3. Rank order of verb form frequencies in East Harlem versus English data.

11. Areas of Distributional Incongruence

In this section we examine in detail the three areas of distributional incongruence between Spanish and English (cf. Klein 1977, Lavandera 1978): Simple Present ∿ Present Progressive, Present Perfect ∿ Preterite, and Imperfect ∿ Preterite.

11.1. Simple Present ∿ Present Progressive

There was one case of use of the Spanish Present Progressive instead of the Simple Present in the 8,679 verbs studied. Because it occurred with a verb of perception, which in standard Spanish categorically requires the Simple Present, it conceivably constitutes transference from English, which allows both the Simple and the Progressive Present in these verbs.

19a. Yo no estoy viendo eso. 'I'm not seeing that.' (002/314)

11.2. Preterite ∿ Imperfect

There was one case of use of the Preterite in Spanish to convey a habitual action in the past. Standard Spanish categorically requires an imperfective verb in such contexts. This utterance may also be due to transference from English, which allows for either form, depending on adverbial support.

19b. Yo no soy parrandero. Antes sí, antes yo salí. 'I'm not a partier. Before yes, before I went/used to go out.' (003/010)

11.3. There were no instances suggesting transference

in the third area of distributional incongruence, that of the Present Perfect/Preterite opposition.

12. Discussion

Systematic quantitative analysis has revealed empirically an overwhelming stability in the systems of tense, mood, and aspect in the Puerto Rican Spanish language spoken in the United States. This research shows almost no differentiation between the Spanish of East Harlem speakers and the Puerto Rican Spanish standard, represented by the speech of a prominent Puerto Rican author. Moreover, there was great similarity between vernacular Puerto Rican and Andalusian Spanish, a dialect which has not been in extended contact with English. The differences which do emerge may be attributed to the nature of the speech situations from which the data were extracted.

We have also presented evidence that the relative importance of the various verb forms has remained basically unchanged in Spanish since the 15th century. The area of greatest divergence is in use of the inflected Future, a form which has practically been replaced by the Periphrastic Future in contemporary vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish, and which now appears to be reserved for use in formal speech styles. This finding is not surprising in view of the long history of vacillation between inflected and periphrastic Future forms, beginning with Classical

Latin. Displacement of the Future by periphrastic forms is widespread in all of Latin America (Lapesa 1968:359) as well as in other Romance languages and English.

This study also shows little or no divergence between bilingual and Spanish-dominant speakers in the distribution of Spanish verb forms. Influence of Enlgish does not appear to have affected these core areas of the Spanish language. A minor trend towards what has been construed as convergence with English (de Granda 1968) was evidenced in the data by a lesser incidence of the subjunctive on the part of the bilingual group. However, this difference was not accompanied by significant rate differences in use of other forms, making it difficult to attribute it with any degree of certainty to influence from English. Indeed, we have shown that distribution of verb forms in vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish differs significantly on all points but one (the Present Progressive) from English patterns. Increase in use of the Present Progressive has also been attributed (Klein 1976, de Granda 1968) to convergence. However, no conclusive evidence of actual increase can be drawn from this or other studies.

Extended use of verb forms in general was shown to correspond to accepted standard usage, with the exceptions representing less than 1% of the data. Only two examples of what might be considered extensions in the direction

of English were attested. Because of the current lack of any general tendency in extended use, we would not expect the emergence in the near future of a norm in Puerto Rican Spanish verb usage different from the standard.

In sum, the only factor which may be said to differentiate verb usage in any significant way is the speech style in which the form was uttered. Different speech situations were shown to favor different proportions of verbal forms, providing yet another example of the inherent stylistic variation which characterizes natural languages.

This research indicates that the verbal paradigm has remained stable in a situation of language contact, despite hypotheses that this should accelerate linguistic change (Lavandera 1978).

Such conclusions were not drawn in qualitative studies of verb usage in other varieties of United States Spanish. However, these studies have concentrated on supposed deviations from the standard, without quantitative study of this standard itself (Bills 1975:vii).

This study shows that when apparent deviations are placed within the context of the entire system, they are seen to constitute only a minuscule portion of the total verbal output. This leads us to suggest that emphasis on deviations in multilingual situations on the part of researchers, educators, and intellectuals is merely

stereotyping due to the phenomenon of categorical perception (Labov 1966), whereby deviation from a norm may be seen as far more prominent than its negligible frequency would warrant.

What explanation could reasonably account for the lack of convergence? On the one hand, the time scale in this contact situation is considerably less than that involved in Gumperz' study. On the other hand, enough time (several generations) has elapsed to permit at least some movement, so that the resistance to convergence must be attributed to other factors. It is probable that the circulatory pattern (Campos & Bonilla 1976) which characterizes Puerto Rican migration to and from the United States has a stabilizing effect on the Spanish language. Due to this there are always some monolingual speakers of Spanish in the Puerto Rican community. The increasing presence of other Hispanics in New York City adds to this effect. Finally, the social implications of linguistic assimilation for the community should not be underestimated. Desire for Spanish language maintenance is unanimous among community members (Attinasi ms.). The language attitudes reported in Section (6) above reveal the value attached not only to the Spanish language, but to a specifically Puerto Rican variety.

Community members themselves are aware of Puerto

Rican Spanish as a distinct variety which is correctly perceived as characterized by low-level but highly visible differences from the Castilian standard. Their criteria for 'good Spanish' are pronunciation and vocabulary, not grammatical correctness. This assessment accurately reflects the area in which vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish usage diverges most from that of other dialects.

Because this variety is close to, if not identical with, the standard insofar as verb usage is concerned, it would be ill-advised to try to impose another norm upon speakers of vernacular Puerto Rican Spanish.

These facts should be considered in the planning of bilingual curricula and in the preparation of language tests for native speakers of Spanish. Knowledge of the actual distribution and use of verb forms in the community should aid teachers in determining learning priorities.

Examiners could also re-evaluate their methods of rating language competence based on grammatical knowledge and usage. For example, in many tests administered at present, mastery of the subjunctive is considered an indication of maximal proficiency in Spanish, while mastery of a regularly inflected form like the Future represents a lower level of proficiency. According to the findings of this study this practice does not properly measure native abilities. Before constructing tests of native

language proficiency, examiners should obtain reliable statistics on the actual distribution of linguistic features in the particular dialect of the speaker being tested. Without this information, any results will be due to inherent biases towards a specious 'standard' which reflects the speech of neither the teachers nor of their students.

NOTES

[1] This analysis is part of a research project on Intergenerational Perspectives on Bilingualism supported by the National Institute of Education under NIE-G-78-0091 and the Ford Foundation. The paper has benefited from comments and criticism from Jorge Guitart, Don Hindle, Beatriz Lavandera and David Sankoff, to whom we are very grateful.

[2] An example of such a test is the Foreign Service Institute exam used to test Peace Corps and other government applicants. It has also been used in screening bilingual teachers in several areas.

[3] Numbers in parentheses refer to speaker and example. Examples not followed by these codes were created for expository purposes, but reflect the recorded speech. Examples preceded by asterisks refer to unacceptable forms.

[4] This includes the present modal plus infinitive.

[5] These data, which consist of informal speech elicited by a sociolinguistic interview, were collected by Poplack in 1976.

[6] The disparity between the totals reflects the fact that the bilinguals produced less Spanish and more English than did the Spanish-dominant speakers.

[7] Percentages in this and following tables may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

[8] The table does not include 255 imperatives and 682 infinitives uttered by these speakers. In addition, it does not include the following 13 forms which were used idiosyncratically:

Simple Present substituted for Present Subjunctive	2
Simple Present substituted for Imperative	1
Infinitive substituted for Simple Present or Present Subjunctive	3
Infinitive substituted for Imperative	1
Preterite substituted for Imperfect	1
Imperfect substituted for Conditional	2
Present Progressive substituted for Simple Present	1
Present Progressive substituted for Past Progressive	1
Present Perfect Subjunctive substituted for Present Perfect	1
	13

[9] These 2,258 English forms consist of 1,144 from the Puerto Rican informants and 1,114 from the non-Puerto Rican informant. Log-likelihood tests of significance showed that while verb distribution in the English of Puerto Rican informants differed from standard English on some points, the former differed from Puerto Rican Spanish on all points. All English verbs were therefore considered together.

[10] The data in this table include only forms comparable to those studied by de Val. The totals for the La Celestina data were converted from relative frequencies over all grammatical categories. Raw frequencies were not available.

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